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ABSTRACT

Documenting the development of monographs on the rural community in Poland, this paper discusses: (1) development of monographic community studies from the beginning of the 19th century to the contemporary period (ethnographic, socioeconomic, socio-historical, economic, historical-sociological, and sociological monographs); (2) the present state (1956-76) and developmental tendencies of Polish rural monographs (influence of industrialization and technical progress in agriculture, including social and religious change; problems of settlement and acculturation/integration of communities in the Polish Western Territories; diffusion of agricultural innovations; community development; changes in the profile of ethnography wherein it approaches rural sociology in both methodology and subject matter; gradual transition of the Polish monograph from the village community orientation to that of township, county, and region; gradual expansion of research scope; thematic specialization; and interdisciplinary research); (3) methodological problems (typology, identification of problems with particular types of monographs, selection of the village for research, the multi-problem monograph and key problem identification); (4) community study classification (single problem monograph with minimal and/or broad socio-historical background; multi-problems monograph with and/or without a key problem; and total or integral monograph); (5) future projects. (JC)

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Monographs on the Rural Community in Poland

The present paper is limited to the local rural community or subregion designated according to etnographic and socio-economic criteria. It thus omits the type of classical position such as W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, J.Chalasinski's Mlode Pokolenie Chlopow /The Young Generation of Peasants/, or S. Czarnowski's /pupil of Durkheim/ Podloze Ruchu Chlopskiego /Foundations of the Peasant Movement, 1935/ on the grounds that they aren't community studies, although the village as the primary group in the two former, and the complete local community in the latter play an even more important role in peasant's life and behaviour than does class conditioning.

Nor are methodological questions considered here, particularly the merits and deficiencies of the monographic method as applied to the local community. We only note that the general objection to community studies, which may be expressed in the Aristotelian formula: nulla scientia nisi de universalibus, becomes groundless if we can establish, at least approximately, the typicality of the investigated object or its deviation from the norm.

Development of the Monographic Community Studies

The first page in the history of community studies was written by etnographers. Interest in people, in their way of life and folklore emerged in Poland under the influence also of romantic literature and of the loss of state independence which occurred at the end of the 18th century. National patriotic motives, similarly with other central European countries, played a considerable role in the development of this discipline.

Questionnaires and directives for ethnographic research appeared at the opening of the 19th century and the first ethnographic monograph emerged in 1809. The monumental work of Oskar Kolberg /1814-1890/, unique in Europe, Lud, jego zwycza - je, sposób bycia /The Folk , Their Customs and Way of Life/, in all 80 volumes, undoubtedly strongly stimulated ethnographic research.[1] The number of ethnographic studies snowballed in the last two decades of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, whereas the first ethnographic rural monograph of one village appeared rather late /the first in 1889/.

Monographs of a socio-economic character constituted the second trend. Contrary to the ethnographic current, monographs on individual villages predominated here. The Christian economist and public figure L. Gorski /adherent of the French sociologist Le Play/ may be regarded as a pioneer in this trend and precursor of Polish rural sociology. His work Uwagi nad obecnym stanem robotników wiejskich w Królestwie Polskim /Notes on the Prevailing Condition of Rural Labourers in the Kingdom of Poland/, published 110 years ago, that is in 1860 includes a

translation of a monograph on one family from Le Play's Les ouvriers europeens which appeared in France just a few years earlier, in 1855.

Modern empirical rural research in the form of complete monographs on the village community was initiated in Poland at the beginning of the 20th century by F. Bujak--historian, economist and geographer. He was at first under the influence of Le Play, as regards the family budget, and of the Swiss economist E. Laur, with reference to the economics of the peasant farm. But he shortly created his own school of monographic rural research in which the main emphasis is on socio-historical evolution (often as an introduction to other problems) and the economic problems of the peasant farm. He also to a great extent considered the sociological point of view. His first integral case studies of the Maszkienice village /1902 and restudy in 1911/ and of the Zmiaca village _1903/ were for many years a model of monographic research in Poland.

Certain objections to Bujak are voiced today because of his failure to consider the class factor and his inclination to deal with too many problems which sometimes led to a superficial analysis. But he is justly credited with introducing to Polish sociology a concrete knowledge of reality instead of philosophic speculation.

Worthy of special mention among the 14 monographs of this trend, written by pupils and imitators, are four comparative monographs. The first compares two Cracow province villages, one with a well-functioning dairy, the other without one. The next two monographs deal with villages of integrated land and

checkeboard plots; and the fourth deals with two villages with populations of different ethnic origins. These were the first attempts of their kind in Polish monographic literature.[2]

The third, the historical trend, is represented by rural monographs based chiefly on archival sources with oral tradition and cultural relicts as auxilary sources. They include the works of scholars[3] but more often of amateurs: teachers, priests and public figures.

We do not consider here the last works which are of limited importance to sociological research and analysis. We can only state generally that this kind of community investigation has survived to the present as an independent current only in a fragmentary form. On the other hand, the historical approach to community investigation has become an indispensable component of almost every monograph on the local group either as an introduction or as a supplementary explanation. It occupied much space in socio-economic monographs in Bujak's school.

The development of the above described three trends prepared in a certain sense the ground for a new type of monograph on the rural community, namely, the sociological monograph. This was a study devoted to the phenomenon of emigration to America on the background of one local community: the village Babice in Southern Poland.[4]

The process of development of the new type of monograph on the rural micro-group was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II, which historically constituted the end of one and the beginning of another epoch. Great changes took place in Poland directly after that war: radical agrarian reform,

settlement of the regained Western Territories, resettlement of populations from pre-war Eastern Polish lands and repatriates from other countries and finally industrialization which brought with it the gradual urbanization of the countryside and a certain ruralization of the towns.

The immediate post-war years, that is up to the commencement of the so-called Cult of the Individual in 1949, can nevertheless be regarded as a period of the continuation of the pre-war rural community studies. Three monographs which appeared in those years were based first of all on the materials gathered before the war and pertained to the past. The first is the economic monograph of W.Styś, Drogi postępu gospodarczego wsi, ... /Roads Toward the Economic Development of the Countryside, 1947/ on the example of one village in Southern Poland. This study is valuable for the sociologist not only with respect to its scope and the social relations considered, but primarily because of its chief subject-matter--the correlation between rural economic progress and changes in the agrarian and demographic structure of the village.

The second work, by the ethnographer K. Zawistowicz-Adamska entitled Społeczność wiejska /The Village Community, 1948/ on the basis of one village, also in Southern Poland, is of didactic-pedagogical value. For it presents in an interesting manner the smooth and hard roads of the field researcher, his attitude and the defence mechanisms of the investigated community, and their motivations in the behaviour toward the investigator.

The third monograph, assigned to the pre-war period, is J. Turowski's Zmiany społeczne wsi a miasto /Social Changes.

Village versus city, 1949/ on the basis of one village in the Lublin region. His approach is historical-sociological. In a certain sense, this monograph may be considered as having ushered in a new approach, since it is devoted to an analysis of changes in the village social organization under the influence of the capitalist city system.

The Present State and Developmental Tendencies

The contemporary period of Polish community studies dates from 1956. This is an important period in which new approaches to research appeared, some concepts were more precise and progress was made in the methodology of field research. The socio-economic monograph of the Bujak school came to an end because there was no one who could give it a new shape. The independent trend of the historical monograph almost completely vanished, while the ethnographic community monograph, considerably less frequent, underwent an interesting evolution /of which I shall speak later/.

The principal trend today is the influence of industrialization and also more recently the impact of technical progress in agriculture on the rural community level, for example on its structure, on its farming forms, on the family and the changes in poeples' consciousness. I am limiting myself here by enumerating only the most characteristic monographs of that trend.

D. Galaj devotes his study Chlopi--robotnicy wsi plockiej. Rzeczywistość i opinie /Part-Time farmers in Plock Villages. Reality and Opinion, 1964/ to a very important problem. This complex phenomenon is examined in two rural townships in a region undergoing accelerated industrialization. The author

stresses the complexity of the problem, its negative, and positive effects on the village, and formulates conclusions for social and economic policy.

Changes in villages affected by the construction of an industrial plant in their vicinity is the subject of J.Turowski's study, and A.Olszewska deals with the full acceptance of a factory by a local rural community which though urbanized, managed to retain its way of life and its own system of values.[5] Changes in the traditional rural community under the impact of industrialization and urbanization on a macro-scale and their consequences, as well as the processes of democratization of social relations and way of life, are also the theme of many works, for instance by: Wierzbicki on the example of a village in Southern Poland,[6] or Jalowiecki on the example of a small urban settlement in Low Silesia which underwent complete ruralization immediately after the war,[7] Markowska who, applying the historical-sociological approach, studies the changes in the family institution in two monographs,[8] and Adamski who analyzes, under the new conditions, the emergence of interest groups on a local level in a village.[9]

This trend also includes studies in the field of social and religious changes in the rural areas - to the extent that they are investigated within the framework of the local community or microregion.[10]

The second basic research trend in the contemporary period is the problem of the settlement and integration of communities in the Polish Western Territories which is equivalent to the American frontier of the 19th century.

We can observe in the afore-mentioned Territories a process of integration /and sometimes desintegration/ of various groups, a kind of melting pot: settlers from Central Poland, repatriates from the Eastern areas, native populations, re-emigrants from Germany, France, Rumania, Jugoslavia, as well as Ukrainians and groups of Greeks and Gypsies.

Among monographs on the rural local community concerned with the problem of adaptation to new conditions /on the example of one village/ mention should be made first of all of the work of S. Nowakowski, Przeobrazenia spoleczne wsi opolskiej /The Social Transformation of Opole Village, 1960/. Somewhat broader in scope are the collective works: Z. Dulczewski and others, Tworzenie się nowego społeczeństwa /The Emergence of a New Society, 1961/, J. Burszta and others, Stare i nowe w kulturze wsi Koszalińskiej, /The Old and the New in the Culture of Koszalin Villages, 1964/ and the work of B. Chmielewska on social transformations in several rural communities of Zielona Gora province.[11]

Of prime importance in all these and similar studies, devoted to the Western Territories, is the process of acculturation of the population.

Two additional and promising research trends are the diffusion of agricultural innovations and community development. One work edited by B. Galeski and others presents the findings of Polish research on the diffusion and acceptance of agricultural innovations in selected communities, that is of individual and cooperative farms. The former research was conducted within the framework of an international project organized by the UNESCO

Vienna centre. The second work, of J. Turowski and A. Bornus, Drogi Modernizacji Wsi /Roads Toward Village Modernization, 1970 examines on the basis of four selected villages in the Lublin province, the process of penetration of innovations and production improvements into agriculture.

The latter sphere of research, local community development, is only now taking shape and is still not fully appreciated by Polish sociologists. We cannot boast of any important achievements as yet, but two works are nevertheless worth mentioning. In the first of these, the author explains, on the example of one village in Lowicz region, the source of rapid economic development and well-being of the inhabitants as inherent in the farmers' great professional activity, particularly in the group of the leading farmers. The intensification of agricultural production and of animal husbandry plus the opportunities created by government policy, primarily by contract farming, have become the driving forces of progress.[12]

The author of the second work undertakes to establish, on the example of one Southern Polish village, the various types of professional and public activities, and their links as well as the factors shaping these types of activities. He attempts also to work out some indices. The degree of activity depends primarily on certain personal qualities /age, health, etc./, secondly, on the family milieu as well as on ecologic and economic factors.[13]

The prevailing tendencies in local rural community studies. To be noted first of all are the changes occurring in the profile of ethnography which is beginning to

approach rural sociology not only in its methodology but also in its subject matter, especially in its community studies. It may briefly be defined as breaking away from ethnographic "collectionism", in other words from the method of field exploration which consists only in registering cultural facts, so-called traditional and reliquary ones, in particular, in making an inventory of various products and objects as located in time and place. The objective is ~~thus~~ now to investigate "the functioning of integral structures and the dynamics of cultural change, including the history of the cultural heritage", and to accomplish "a wholly integrated analysis of a structural-functional character" /J. Burszta and others/.

Fulfillment of the postulate of comparative research would provide a proper conception of complete anthropological-cultural monography according to Steward's approach, which may be defined as integral sociological or neo-ethnographic mono - graphy.

The next tendency clearly being delineated is the gradual transition of the Polish monograph from the village community to the large scale community: the township, county, region, that is, these research objects which are composed at least of several villages or of producers' cooperatives, now ~~correctly~~ being regarded also as local communities.

Another characteristic feature of Polish rural community studies is the constant, though gradual, expansion of the scope of research. This corresponds to the increase of the number of investigated subjects of general research on a macroscale, for instance research, in cross-sections of the

community, in new spheres of life, as in the health service, problems of the aged, of juvenile delinquency.

On the other hand, the tendency to thematic specialization in the framework of any one village or even more frequently of the larger scale community /township, region/ is to be observed in the community studies.

One other tendency may be noted, namely, the drive to interdisciplinary research. This seems especially necessary in such field as the studies in which limitation of the research area to only one village, township, subregion often impells the investigator to a total approach. But to embrace all the essential problems or spheres of life of a given community requires the collaboration of representatives of various disciplines: economics, psychology and the natural and bio-medical sciences. This however must be accomplished much more methodologically than was done by the eminent Rumanian sociologist D. Gusti, who has earned, nevertheless, the title of the pioneer in this type of monographic research.[14]

Some Methodological Problems

The typology of monographs on the community presents the first methodological problem. The one primary type is the single problem monograph which considers the social background or context in a minimal degree, i.e. only such as are indispensable to the comprehension and analysis of the given problem. The opposite type is the sociographic integral monograph embracing all the essential spheres of life of the given community. Both types represent two extreme cases and are linked by a continuum

on which we can place intermediate types of monographs /see fig. 1/. For example the single or two-problem monograph written on the broad socio-historical background of the community in question appears on the line of continuum not far from the left pole; also the monograph where the point of departure is the vital problem of a given locality which affects social life and is dominant in other fields of the community life, or even may be an object of aspiration and conflict of the majority of the community members. Stated differently this kind of study may be defined as a few- or multi-problems monograph with a key-problem /or, as we say in Poland, "leading problem"/. The third intermediate type of monograph, shifting more to the right pole of the continuum, would be a multi-problem monograph without a key-problem. Supposing, that the "multi-problem monograph with key-problem" would lie more or less on the centre of the line of continuum, we would reduce the number of problems and their importance as key-problems while moving toward the left pole /the one problem monograph can't be, of course, considered a key-problem monograph/. While movement along to right pole would increase the number of investigated problems, it would reduce the possibility of finding a problem which could be dominant in relation to all the other problems or fields of community life studied.

The proposed typology may be graphically presented somewhat differently by "raising' the centre point of the continuum and making a kind of equal-sided triangle which we can call a "continuum-sided triangle" /see fig. 2/. Moving along the base of triangle will show different types of mono-

graphs, depending only on the number of investigated problems. But moving from one of the poles towards the apex will show a division of monographs into types not only in respect to their number but also to the mutual relations of analyzed problems /in the extreme case of embracing only one or all problems in a monograph we can't establish a key-problem with respect to all others; this is possible only if we have a few or multi-problem monograph/.

One other essential methodological problems is the identification of the problems with particular types of monographs. Thus, it is now impossible to embrace all questions in one monograph, even if it is an integral one. Hence there is the need of choosing the most essential problems for the given community which give us the most holistic picture of the life of the local group possible.

However, Wissler's universal model of an integral anthropological-cultural monograph compared by Steward with the Lynds' famous monograph on Middletown /R.S. and H.M. Lynd/ and J. West's on Plainville and further compared by the author with two Polish monographs on the Zmiaca village, one by Bujak and the other by Wierzbicki, a restudy of the same village /see table 1/, shows us that there are great differences in the scope of problems between all these case studies, which are considered as integral and are written using similar methods. Even the selection of the most important fields of the community life may be difficult.

Of course, there is no such difficulty with the single problem monograph since the problem is chosen arbitrarily,

whereas the difficulties are rather great in the case of the multi-problem monograph with a key-problem. What method should be applied in fixing that "key-problem"? We have hitherto, in sociology, been often guided by feelings and intuition which are certainly hardly satisfactory. Sometimes the investigator, especially the anthropologist, spends much time in the selected community and fixes the key-problem in the course of surveying and collecting his materials. This affords a greater accuracy of choice.

The final methodological problem is in the selection of the village for research, i.e. the question of representative - ness of the investigated subject. This problem should be un - doubtedly connected with delineation of regions of the country, with macro-social research plans, and with the anticipated role, on the basis of developmental tendencies, of the countryside in future society.

The Classification of Polish Community Studies

We have so far distinguished five types of monographs on the local community: a/ the single problem monograph with minimal socio-historical background and b/ the problem monograph on a broad socio-historical background, both mostly used in applied sociology or state social policy; c/ the multi-problems monograph with a key-problem, typical of the sociological approach; d/ the multi-problem monograph without a key-problem; e/ the total or integral monograph characteristic of the anthropological-cultural or neoethnographic approach. On the basis of two adopted criteria, i.e. the scope of the analized problems and their mutual relationship-equal rank of the

problems studied or their interdependance; subordination-dominance/, we can firstly classify all Polish monographs published in the XX c. into the above mentioned types and secondly divide the period from 1900 till 1970 /on the basis of different socio-political regimes/ into four following parts: from 1900 till 1918 /the end of the I W.W./; from 1919 until 1939 /independent Poland/; from 1945 until 1956 /from the end of II W.W. to the end of so called cult of the individual/; and from 1957 until 1970.

In the first part there were numerous ethnographic studies, the first serious empirical socio-economic integral monographs of Bujak as well as the first monographs of the same kind of one microregion.[15]

In the second part /1919-1939/ most of the community studies are, as we have seen, integral case studies /mostly of the Bujak school/. However, we Have also the first empirical case studies in each of the proposed type of monographs: three single problem monographs with a minimal consideration of social background, the first problem monograph on a broad social background as well as two multi-problem monographs with a key-problem, and a few multi-problem studies without a key-problem. Together more than 20 works can be regarded as scientific.

In Stalin's time there were very few empirical studies, /and no general works of sociology or rural sociology at all/ and these three above mentioned monographs were prepared before this period /two are one problem monographs, the third - a multi-problem study with key-problem/.

The bulk of community studies appears after 1956. It may

be interesting for the reader to know the difference between the two important epochs: before II W.W. /1919-1939/ and after the II W.W. /1945-1970/ which helps us to show some general tendencies. Whereas the total number of community studies increased from 24 before the last War to 40 after the II War, the number of the type of integral monographs decreased very steeply: only 4 in comparison to 13 before the last War /in relative numbers - 10% to 54% of total number of monographs for two epochs/. Simultaneously, the multi-problem monographs without a key problem shows a declining tendency because this type of study now represents 17,5% of the total number of community studies and 20,8% of those before the last War.

This type replaces to some degree the former integral case study, so numerous before the II W.W. as well as those before the I W.W.

We would expect the other types of community studies to increase after II W.W., and this indeed happened. First, the problem monographs on a broad social background increased most /11 to 1 before the last War, i.e. 27, 5% to 4,2% of the total number/ and is now the biggest group of monographs; second, the multi-problem monographs with the key-problem increased also /20% to 8,2/ before the war/; third, the single problem monographs with minimal socio-historical background rose to 10 in comparison to 3 before the last War, that is 25% to 12,5%.

As already stated the general tendency, towards a greater specialization of studies appears clearly. However, at the same time, we observe the tendency towards a broader scope of themes

/problems/, as has been already mentioned, aged people, juvenile delinquency, and so on, all studied in a cross-section of comunities or micro-regions. When our "problem oriented studies" became more differentiated and specialized, a clear-cut tendency appeared in the field of multi-problems monographs towards interdisciplinary research.

Finally the fact should be stressed that the comparison of published monographs with more general works, theoretical or synthetic, in sociology and even in rural sociology from 1956 to 1970 shows clearly that in many fields community studies represent pioneer investigations. We can cite here as an example the investigations in the field of social changes in mores and customs, in the way of life of rural people, in area of educa - tional milieu and in value systems, diffusion of innovations, in many social processes as for instance of adaptation, integration, acculturation /and disintegration or disorganization/, of social control, and recently about fringe villages and community development.

This fact enlightens from another point of view the repeated discussions about the utility and purposefulness of community studies.

Projects for the Future

Since research on a large scale is now being conducted in Poland concerning villages and small towns situated in indus - trial regions and influenced directly by the process of industrialization, the need arises for concerning villages outside the direct influence of industry and also big cities. There

are, of course, various kinds of villages in non-industrial regions purely agricultural /well developed or broken down villages/, mountain or tourist villages, orchard or fishing villages and so on. It therefore seems that the monographic research project ought to select for study villages representing all of the above mentioned kinds.

However, a proper comparison still requires a selection of villages from among the already investigated communities in industrial regions or in the regions on the way to industrialization, to learn how they develop under the impact of industrialization and urbanization.

The selection of villages of all types should be purposeful to a considerable degree, that is, they should be selected according to their representativeness of given villages in a given region /subregion/ in the country, but this is a separate problem.

Elaborated studies of a set of selected villages will facilitate a fruitful comparison with the studies on the macro-scale level, the formulation of certain key-hypotheses, and the drawing of certain conclusions with regard to the prospects of agricultural development in Poland, and also in the future, in Europe.

Zbigniew T. Wierzbicki

Wissler's universal model and the chief problems of the Lynds, West's, Bujak's and Wierzbicki's monographs

Tabela 1

	Wissler	the Lynds	West	Bujak	Wierzbicki
1	Material Traits	Getting a living	Technology and economics	Technology and agricultural economy /primarily farming and animal husbandry/, industry, earnings, culture /material/	Economic relations /occupational migration, agriculture, material culture/
2					partly: Choice of proverbs, puzzles, poems, life stories
3	Art				partly: Material culture
4	Mythology and science				relicts of the world of magic
5	Religion	Religion	Religion	Church /and religious life/ and partly: culture	
6	Family and social system	Making a home	The Social structure	Property possesion, legal relations, customs, culture /non-material/	Class and stratum-structural evolution, matrimonial matching
7	Property and exchange			Land distribution and property transfer by means of inheritance, credit, trade	Evolution of the agrarian structure, inheritance

	Wissler	the Lynds	West	Bujak	Wierzbicki
8	Government	Community activities /govt, health, propaganda, group solidarity/		Political matters /national awareness, community, the township, attitude to government/	Evolution of the class and stratum-structure, growth of national awareness, social topography of the village, local gov't /selfgov't/ and socio-political organizations
9	Warfare				partly: Occupation, armed under-ground movement
10		Training the young	Life Cycle	Training the young partly in school education	Development of education, promotion by schooling, some aspects of morality and some educational institutions
11		Using leisure			Wooing
12				Village's past	Village on the background of the country history
13				Population mobility /demograpic/	Demographic changes
14					Anthropological measurements of population
15					Health, /by physician/, alcoholism

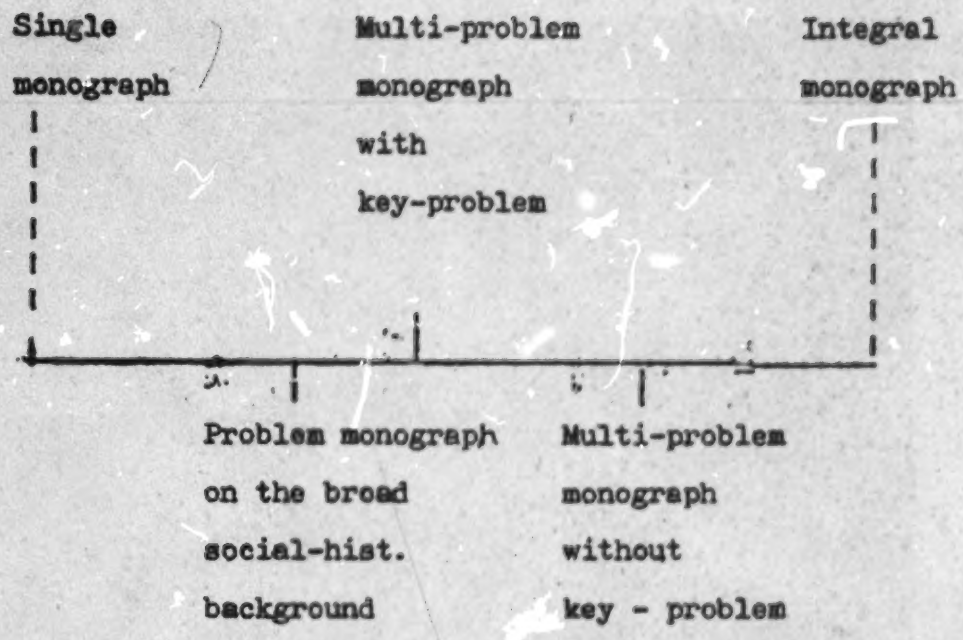
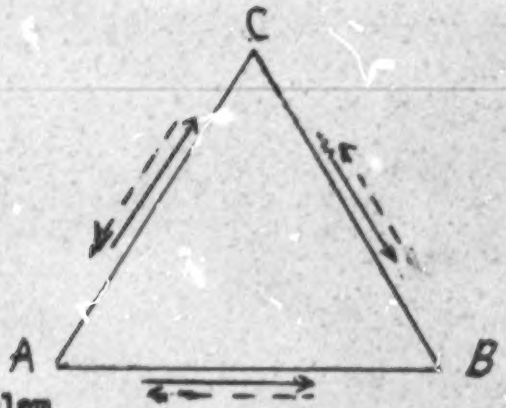

Single monograph
Multi-problem monograph with key-problem
Integral monograph
Problem monograph on the broad social-hist. background
Multi-problem monograph without key - problem

Fig. 1 Continuum of Community Monograph Types

Multi-problem monograph with key-problem



Single-problem monograph

Integral monograph

Fig. 2. "Continuum Sided Triangle" of Basic Types of Monographs According to the Number of Problems Studied and to the Degree of Problem Interdependence

A - B the line of increasing / ⟶ / and decreasing / ⟵ / number of problems and their equal rank

A - C the line of: ↗ increasing number of problems and increasing degree of problem interdependence

↙ decreasing number of problems and decreasing degree of problem interdependence

B - C the line of: ↖ decreasing number of problems and increasing degree of problem interdependence

↘ increasing number of problems and decreasing degree of problem interdependence

Footnotes

1. However, during Kolberg's life there appeared only 36 volumes.

2. These are: M.Sowiński, Rybna and Kaszów, Villages in Cracow County /1928/; W. Gortat, Góra Bełdrzychowska and Byczyna /1928/; A. Dzieżawski, Okalina and Czerników in the Opatów County /1928/; F. Guściora, Three Kurzyny, the villages in Nisko County /1928/. From the same trend issued the first attempt at delineating the conditions and paths of economic progress in the countryside /for instance, W.Bronikowski, Drogi postępu chłopa polskiego /The Polish Peasant's Paths to Progress, 1934/.

3. For instance the typical one written by K. Dobrowolski, Dzieje wsi Niedźwiedź /The History of the Village Niedźwiedź in Limanowa County.../ 1931.

4. By K. Duda-Dziewierz in 1938.

5. J. Turowski, Przemiany wsi pod wpływem zakładu przemysłowego... /Changes of the Rural Area Under the Influence of Industrial Plant. Case Study of the Milejów Region/, 1964. A. Olszewska, Wieś uprzemysłowiona... /The Urbanized Village in the Opole County/, 1969.

6. A restudy of one of Bujak's community monographs, under the title: Żmiaca w pół wieku później... /Zmiaca Half a Century Later/, 1963.
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